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—John C. Cort

THE

Commonweal

Foreign Policy Illusions

by Charles Burton Marshall

THE CHRISTIAN IN POLITICS

by Eugene J. McCarthy

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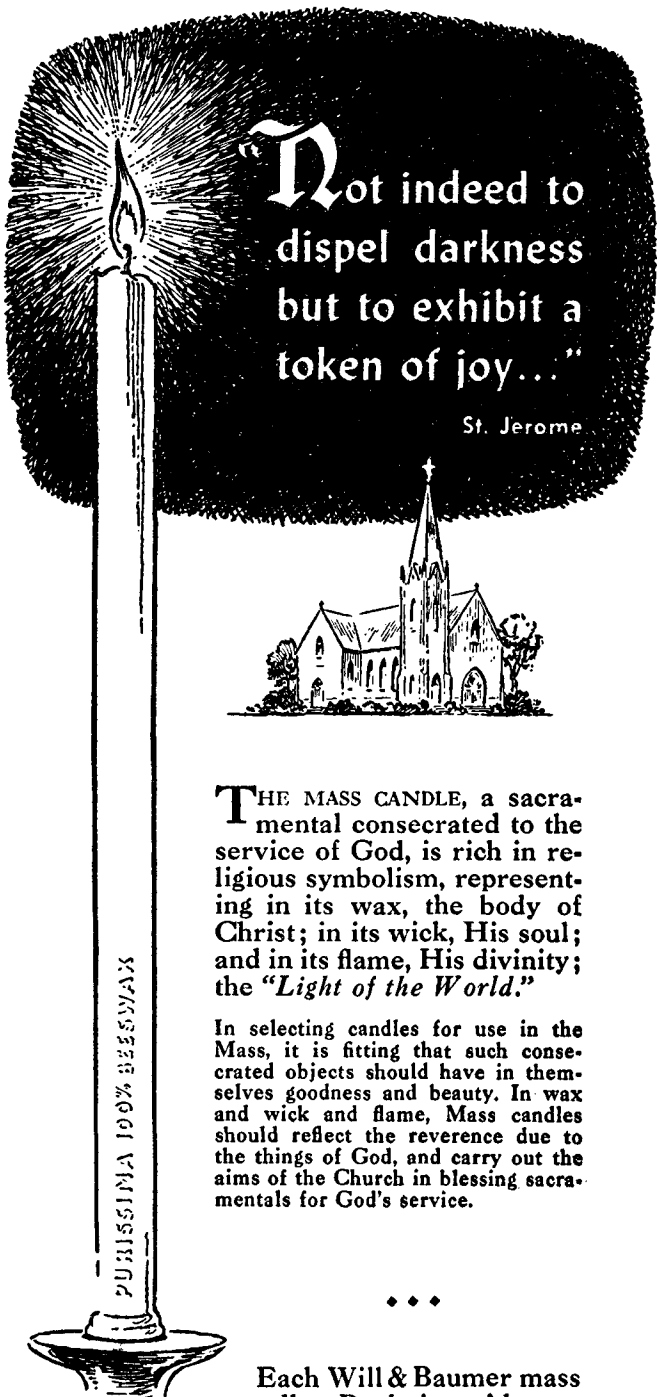

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THE

Commonweal

week by week

THE WRECKERS

NEWSPAPER headlines about the scandals in the Federal Housing Administration continue. Most of the publicity so far has been received by builders who pocketed huge windfall profits after securing government-insured mortgages far in excess of the actual cost of building. To date, government investigators have uncovered more than one hundred million dollars in such profits, reaped from almost fifteen hundred apartment building projects. And the painful part of all this is that such builders apparently violated no law, and the government will try only to recover the exorbitant profits rolled up at the expense of tenants and/or taxpayers. Even here it is not yet certain that the government will be successful.

In addition to the publicity given the windfall profits made by such large-scale builders, the activities of profiteers who struck oil with the home repair and improvement program have been graphically described. Here the intent of the program was clearly perverted, and high-pressure salesmen and unscrupulous contractors defrauded thousands of home-owners around the country.

How all this could have been done without the knowledge of FHA officials is hard to see, and charges of graft and corruption within the agency persist. Some high officials have already left under pressure, and the facts in the matter are now under study by the Justice Department, with prosecutions in the near future a distinct possibility.

It is easy enough, after the event, to be wise about the defects in the government's mortgage insurance program. The AFL and the CIO were, incidentally, wise before the event, and if they wish to do so, both labor organizations are now in a wonderful position to say "We told you so." When Congress was framing the legislation in question, CIO and AFL spokesmen testified against it, pointing out that the measure lent itself to precisely the kind of abuses now being publicized.

Labor's crystal ball was working well in this instance, but not many other people had doubts about the law. Designed to encourage private industry to do something about housing on a large scale, it had a special urgency at the beginning of World War II and in the immediate postwar period, when so many veterans and their families were desperate for a place to live.

The great need was more housing, and at the time few were worried about the details. And in justice it must be said that housing was built—not as much as was needed, certainly, but in substantial quantities. The United States today is dotted with apartment buildings and homes which would not exist if it had not been for FHA assistance in financing them.

THESE are the facts. But how many people will remember them? Perhaps the way one reacts to the FHA scandals depends ultimately on one's attitude toward the role of government, and specifically of the role government should play in housing. Those who have always resisted any kind of government intervention are already displaying obvious glee as they discuss the FHA disclosures. And on the other hand, many who favor government action in housing will probably tend to minimize the FHA scandal as if the revelations were of little or no importance at all.

For our part, we consider the FHA scandal a real tragedy, not so much because of the hundred million dollars—though that is bad enough—and not even because tenants in the affected apartment buildings are paying far more rent than they should—which is worse. But the real tragedy is the effect these revelations could have on the popular attitude toward any and all action by the government in the field of housing.

It is all very well for those of us who favor the purpose of the government housing program to point to the thousands of families who now have homes because of the FHA. It is all very well to cite the unpublicized contractors who did honest work for an honest profit, the ones who

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did not get rich overnight on windfall profits. One hundred million dollars is still a lot of money, and the fact that some contractors made huge profits on practically no investment is big news. The law was loosely drawn and even more poorly administered. There is no escaping this fact, and it is no wonder the public is disgusted with the affair.

Yet this public feeling must not be allowed to mean the death of ideas like the FHA. The answer to abuse is reform, not annihilation. Even today, almost ten years after the end of World War II, housing continues to be critically short in many areas. In the blighted sections of our large cities, entire families are living in one or two rooms, often in buildings not fit for human habitation. Alone and unaided, the housing industry is incapable of meeting this challenge—a fact amply demonstrated over the last few decades. The connivers and corner-cutters, the weak and complaisant, the venal and corrupt have already done incalculable harm. But the exposure of their activities must not be allowed to kill the principle which inspired FHA in the first place.

POST-STALIN RUSSIA

IN the year and a half since the death of Joseph Stalin everyone—newspapermen, diplomats and UN observers—has been struck by the new official Russian demeanor. This unprecedented affability and unwonted eagerness to take part in various international activities have even aroused some slender hopes that under its new masters the Soviet Union would cooperate for the good of the postwar world. There was, however, little evidence beyond a change of mien to sustain such wishful hopes.

The return of Harrison E. Salisbury from five years within the Soviet Union as correspondent for the New York *Times* throws additional light on the nature of the new regime (and explains, as well, how the Russian censorship kept him from reporting what was unfavorable). In his series now appearing in the *Times* a sharp distinction is made between the methods of Stalin and his successors. But Mr. Harrison finds the world ambitions of the USSR the same as ever; the Soviet leaders are not yet content simply to develop the tremendous resources of their vast domain. To the contrary.

Many of the changes affected are signs of increasing self-confidence. Wholly unnecessary security measures are being abandoned, freer discussions are permitted in the arts and sciences, and travel is less inhibited within the Soviet Union. There is more emphasis on supplying consumer goods, at least in important centers like Moscow. The peasants may grow more for themselves and their families. The dread work and penal camps of Siberia and the northern wastelands continue, but there is less of a feeling of terror abroad in the land.

The changes since Stalin, then, make for greater contentment at home and greater influence in the councils of the world. Moreover, they have as a background the development of more and more effective offensive and defensive weapons on a major scale. Under its new leadership team the USSR shapes up as a more formidable adversary than ever. The victories on EDC and in Indochina were no accident.

NEXT WEEK

JOHN BROPHY of the CIO discusses the plight of the American coal industry and offers a solution:

"Shutdowns and slack work are widespread and continuous throughout the bituminous as well as the anthracite fields. Unemployment compensation and distribution of government surplus food products among the needy victims may alleviate some of the distress, but hardly meet the requirements of the miner and his family. What is wrong with coal? Why do recurrent crises plague the industry? Now, again, unemployment, distress and poverty afflict all too many of the miners and their families. The miners suffer needlessly because the industry is disorganized and mismanaged by the old game of speculative profits, over-production, shortages, high prices. Present planning is now too limited, spotty and irregular to bring about order and stability in the industry."

EDITOR UNSUNG

MUCH of successful American journalism today is hard to dissociate from self-promotion and sheer publicity. There is plenty of serious foreign reporting, to be sure, but many domestic news items are simply planted by adepts at "public relations." In any case, it is worth calling attention at this juncture to a distinguished journalistic career which was the very antithesis of the exploitation of journalism as a stepladder to personal success.

John B. Collins edited the *Pittsburgh Catholic* from 1933 until last week, when the paper changed hands and enlarged its format. Throughout his

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long and strenuous career as editor and author of the column, "To the Point," he worked for a virtual pittance. He was adamant for the social principles he believed in and upheld labor unions through thick and thin when opposition to them was still firmly entrenched in this country. He had no hesitancy in supporting unpopular strikes whenever he was convinced they were warranted by the facts.

He was a strong believer in good interfaith relations and served as one of the local leaders of the National Conference of Christians and Jews for many years. Yet he was forthright in differing with his associates about such issues as the school bus question and other aspects of federal aid. He also fought against Prohibition and for better observance of the Sabbath. He made no bones about his dislike of "Going My Way" and the disservice he felt such films would do.

Mr. Collins made no secret about his politics, which were consistently New Deal and Fair Deal, but he did not force his opinions on others in the name of his religion. He was consistently anti-Coughlin and anti-McCarthy. He is a thoroughgoing anti-Communist and internationalist.

His leave-taking of his readers is typical of the man. After a brief word citing a couple of issues for which he had fought, it was primarily "a word of thanks to those who have read" his column and to all who helped him produce the paper. It is typical of John B. Collins that the biographical note he sent year after year to the editors of the "American Catholic Who's Who," on their request, contained but four lines: his name, position and address.

NUCLEAR WAR I

UNDER the football stands at the University of Chicago, so few years ago, the most crucial development in the history of warfare took place. It had had its conception in a brief letter from Albert Einstein to President Roosevelt; it had its fulfilment when the B-29 *Enola Gay*, glittering in the high sunlight, dropped its load on Hiroshima.

In the years which have followed, the nuclear weapon has had an impact on the consciences and politics of men which parallels the appalling physical power it demonstrated at Hiroshima.

Now that almost a decade has passed and a new war of a silent kind is being waged in the world, it may be useful to review the development of nuclear war and to discuss some of the methods which have been proposed for the military use—or for preventing the military use—of nuclear weapons. In this editorial and those which will appear later we will not try to survey exhaustively the problem of the nuclear weapon, but we do intend to draw some lines, to summarize some of the principal strategic theories, and to bring a great and disturbing series of events into some kind of order.

Perhaps the only serious effect the nuclear weapon has had on the public mind and conscience has been despair. The atomic bomb surely brought with it problems which are of fundamental importance to any responsible man, but we do not propose here to attempt to solve these problems of conscience. This series of editorials makes only the claim that despair solves nothing; that it is, indeed, only blindness.

First, the facts. In 1945 the atomic bomb was so large it could barely fit into the B-29, the largest bomber then in operational service in our military forces. We now have atomic weapons small enough to be carried by a fighter-bomber aircraft. In fact, it has been suggested that the nuclear warhead may be small enough to be fitted to an air-to-ground rocket. A F-86 Sabrejet could then carry six such rockets, the equivalent of five hundred thousand tons of TNT. And in the near future, a fighter may carry the equivalent of a million tons of high explosive.

These nuclear warheads are also fitted to artillery ammunition and to guided missiles, although the latter do not yet have the range and accuracy that is desirable. But as the Alsops have so frequently pointed out, the so-called IBM, or intercontinental ballistic missile with nuclear warhead, is the ugly development next to be expected. The IBM could cross oceans at enormous speeds and, according to present reports, would be virtually invulnerable to interception.

The atomic weapon is small enough to be carried in a suitcase, to be fired from an off-shore submarine, or to be planted in the center of a city.

Then there is the hydrogen bomb. It suffices to say that a half-dozen of them could destroy England; that one of them dropped on Times Square would eliminate all but the outlying suburbs of New York City.

As yet the H-bomb can only be carried by a large aircraft. But there is absolutely no reason to think that it will not soon be available in as small a size and as flexible a form as now is true of the atomic bomb.

Methods of delivery have also changed. The evolution of the missile from short-range, unguided V-2 to IBM is fairly well known. Not so well understood is the development of conventional

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air delivery. Flight refueling techniques have already made it possible for a flight of fighter-bombers to have flown from the United States to North Africa non-stop, refueling over the ocean from waiting air-tankers. Fighters can also be carried in the bellies of B-36 bombers; they are carried for long distances by the bombers, launched for fast strikes on the target, then recovered by the bomber for the trip home. These techniques, together with our carriers and airbases scattered all over the world, the development of catapults and aircraft which take off vertically and land on their tails in the space of a tennis court, give the United States a widely-dispersed strategic and tactical air arm, capable of reaching targets anywhere in the world with nuclear weapons.

In coming editorials we will consider the employment of this air-nuclear power according to Mr. Dulles' concept of massive retaliation, the criticisms of the massive-retaliation idea, the question of population bombings and the objections which have been raised against it both on moral grounds and by military strategists, the military employment of long-range bombers particularly in the light of the criticisms of B. H. Liddell Hart, and the deterrent power of the nuclear weapon in the grand strategy of the cold war as argued by American spokesmen and by Marshal of the RAF Sir John Slessor.

THE NEED FOR DIPLOMACY

THERE can be no doubt that France's rejection of EDC was a defeat for the West and a triumph for Moscow. In EDC's rejection by the nation which first proposed it, Europe's best hope for strength and integration died. Some French deputies wept in that hour of Europe's defeat. It is understandable that they should.

It is also understandable that the Eisenhower Administration felt anger and bitterness towards the French Premier who had hastened EDC's death by his refusal to support it. What is not understandable or, in many allied quarters, forgivable, is the Administration's seeming genius for making the worst of a bad situation. For that, apparently, is what Mr. John Foster Dulles is determined to do.

Some time ago, when fast and free talk about "massive retaliations" and "agonizing reappraisals" was about to frighten our friends to death, one of Mr. Dulles' critics remarked that it would be better for all concerned if the Secretary of State had his second thoughts first. But this happy event has not yet come to pass. And in the case of EDC Mr. Dulles appears to have had no second thoughts at all. He is, apparently, still operating on the basis of those first reactions of anger and bitterness towards M. Mendes-France that he felt when the treaty was defeated.

Unfortunately, anger and bitterness are no substitutes for a rational foreign policy, and, as a result of this, we may well find ourselves faced with a second defeat which will be worse then our first. For if defeat for EDC was a tragedy, disruption of the Anglo-French-American alliance as a result of it would be infinitely worse. And such a disruption is, at present, possible.

We Americans seem beset by a type of self-righteous moralism that may have its virtuous advantages at home but can cause only irritation and dismay when it is vaunted abroad. We tend to feel very pleased, for example, whenever our diplomats behave undiplomatically. If our Secretary of State refuses to shake hands with the emissary of a Communist power, we feel confirmed in our sense of moral superiority and congratulate ourselves for winning a victory in the Cold War. We seem to welcome opportunities for turning our backs on those we don't like. And, strengthened with the force of Mr. Dulles' example, such attitudes appear to have been hardened into dogmas in the State Department.

The result for our foreign policy may be terrible. Great nations cannot afford to act like stubborn boys; they cannot sulk when they are thwarted; they cannot refuse to speak to those who have hurt them. Mr. Dulles, for example, cannot, if he hopes to obtain any workable alternative to EDC, refuse to speak to M. Mendes-France; he cannot offer such affronts to national pride as his recent snub of the French Premier if France is to be saved for the Atlantic alliance.

EDC is dead, but nations cannot mourn for long: history moves too fast. And so it is now necessary to forget EDC and to work for what must and *can* be. To achieve it the State Department will have to deal with facts of international life as they are, rather than as Mr. Dulles might wish them to be.

M. Mendes-France is central to these facts. Negotations which ignore him are bound to fail. Attempts to rearm Germany without his support may end by driving France into neutralism, and this would mean a defeat for the West more ultimate than the defeat of EDC.

Perhaps we must relearn diplomacy. In so doing we would probably feel fewer glows of national self-satisfaction, but we might obtain the more durable good of a foreign policy which serves, rather than sunders, the West.

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Foreign Policy Illusions

PERFECTIONISTS OF BOTH RIGHT AND LEFT REFUSE TO ADMIT THE NATURE OF POWER.

CHARLES BURTON MARSHALL

GIVING counsel for dealing with what he called "the enmities of Europe," Jefferson said, "Not in our day, but at no distant day, we may shake a rod over the heads of all, which may make the stoutest tremble. But I hope our wisdom will grow with our power, and teach us that the less we use our power, the greater it will be."

Recent events have exposed a tendency among some in authority to overestimate the amount of power at our disposal. The rod in our hand seems to have proved less compelling than thought to be by some who surely should have known better. Not the question of the extent of our tangible power but the wisdom attending our employment of it, however, concerns me here. Indeed, for a nation intending to fulfill a responsible role, the two—wisdom and power— are inseparable facets of the same reality. The futility of wisdom generated beyond capability for giving it effect and the mockery of capability exceeding the proportion of wisdom are as apt for nations as for individuals.

The conception of the ends of politics as ultimate goals is seductive in tendency. The assumed sure realization of a perfect finality may justify enormous suffering and injustice. The speeding of such an end may warrant compounding and perpetuating the tragedy. Perfect ends, if postulated, may indeed by logic justify the willful employment of intermediate evil. This is why historic idealists laboring for teleological goals—and the Communists are not alone in this respect— have often been impelled into cynical disregard of the moral questions of means, not simply in spite of but indeed because of, zeal for their ideals. We have no reason to assume for ourselves an exemption from this tragic fallacy if we postulate the things tending toward it.

To conceive of ends proximate to and integral to actions tends to save us from that danger. It helps to a more sober view of historic possibilities. It helps save us from the tragic fallacy of consuming what we would preserve—whether it be the peace or our own constitutional system—in the vain quest of absolute assurance.

The proponents of formulated final solutions in this field—whether among the counselors of cure by total organization, by withdrawal from the world's concerns, or by resort to unrestricted violence—almost invariably lay claim to some moral superiority of aspiration. In this they are simply wrong in a wrongness derived from a too narrow view of the meaning of creativity.

The argument about our purposes in world affairs has tended to be put on a false footing of idealism versus realism—of exponents of a moral approach to international politics versus the renouncers of morality in the concerns of power.

I happen to be in a measure an admirer of both Mr. George F. Kennan and Professor Hans Morgenthau as exponents of the so-called realistic as distinguished from the moralistic approach to international politics. I sympathize with their endeavors to apply correction to a national tendency toward platitude and posture in world affairs. Yet I believe both have erred in over-correcting, in producing distortion to counter distortion. I know of nothing more unrealistic than the notion of abandonment of moral precepts in politics—world politics or any other sort—just as I know of nothing more hostile to ideals than imprudent disregard of the factors of feasibility in seeking to realize them.

The question is not whether to be idealists or realists, but how to be both—and only in answering it can we learn the wisdom which Jefferson hoped would in time grow with our power. We shall do this, I believe, only by doing harder thinking than we as a nation have had to do heretofore on the relation between means and ends, and by learning to look somewhat ahead but indeed not too far ahead in the ends for which we strive.

PERHAPS history has never provided an equivalent of the pleasant and successful time enjoyed by the United States in its relationships with the world during the first century and a quarter of its existence.

Mr. Marshall, author of The Limits of Foreign Policy, is a former member of the State Department Policy Planning Staff.

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The world was still only loosely drawn together during most of that period, though progressively less so as time advanced. The power situation presented opportunity rather than danger to the new nation. In the circumstances of the time, relating America to the nations of the transoceanic continents required of the American people attitudes rather than actions and commitments. Their field of real concern lay closer to hand. Issues emerging afar were remote in import as well as in distance. The nation was almost—not quite, but almost—the sum of its own field of concern. In this it enjoyed reciprocity: even as late as four decades ago the foreign offices and war offices of the European powers going through the fateful steps preliminary to the first of the two world wars gave not a moment's attention, as revealed in their archives, to the question of the United States' possible relation to the emerging hostilities—something never to happen again except in the sequel to some now unforeseeable obliterative catastrophe to the nation.

America was then concerned mainly with acquiring room to grow, establishing grounds for fending off encroachments from abroad, and gaining positions and privileges conducing to American commercial success in the world. The Jay treaty, the southwestward expansion in the 1840's bringing on hostilities with Mexico, and the accessions of Hawaii and the Philippines caused transient qualms, but in general in relations with external entities the Americans got ahead by doing what came naturally. They usually found their own resources for action sufficient for success, which was demonstrably grand in broad outlines and usually prompt and complete in particulars.

To be sure, in the Jefferson and Madison presidencies, performance fell short of the aim to compel British acknowledgment of the nation's asserted neutral rights in oceanic commerce, but the absence of important maritime wars in the succeeding century made this failure more an affront to pride than an impediment to destiny. The nation had to reconcile itself to a delay of a couple of decades, but no more, between the onset and the consummation of desire to acquire Texas. For roughly a half-century, moreover, it had to put up with some frustration of its desire for exclusive control of a projected transisthmian canal. These instances aside, the Americans generally not only knew but also got—and got right away—what they wanted, whether in gettting the British off the Northwest frontier, the Mediterranean pirates off the necks of American mariners, the French out of the trans-Mississippi West, the Spanish out of Florida, the Mexicans out of the present Southwest, the British out of the Far Northwest, the Russians out of Alaska, or the Spanish out of Cuba.

At the outset of the nation's course Alexander Hamilton referred to the contest in views between some Americans hopeful of seeing realized in their country "the halcyon scenes of the poetic or fabulous age" and others "who believe we are likely to experience a common portion of the vicissitudes and calamities which have fallen to the lot of other nations." The first century and a quarter seemed amply to confirm the former expectation.

TO specify the moment the great alteration of favorable external circumstances set in is as difficult as it would be to sum up all the causes. The process has been going on about a half century, with the causes often taking hold well ahead of the emergence of the results, which only in quite recent years have become sharpened in the national consciousness. The factors have included the redressing of the strategic advantages of sea power by the development abroad of inland transportation and by the rise of air power, huge extensions in the radius of attack and the destructive power of weapons, drastic revisions of world power patterns in consequence of the two world wars and the drive for independence among colonial peoples,

and the establishment of a huge power base for revolutionary Communism.

A sojourn among "halcyon scenes of the poetic or fabulous age" is poor preparation for coming at last "to experience a common portion of the vicissitudes and calamities which have fallen to the lot of other nations." To nations as well as to individuals may fall the experience of girding themselves and walking where they would in a time of expanding capability only in its waning phase to find themselves carried where they would not. Yet in my view, the experience of no other people has paralleled that of the Americans in having to face drastic reduction in their security at the very peak of power, suffering impairment of freedom of action at the summit of success.

With as much aptness as to be found in any metaphor, one may liken the nation's experience to that of a novice golfer who with his very first swing scored a hole-in-one. Though wonderful at the time, the experience carried a heavy deferred penalty. Even while gaining in proficiency and power, the man was probably fated never again to enjoy the beginning moment's success. Initial perfection of performance

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must only have made more exasperating the lessons yet to be learned about golf and about himself. So with Americans, their difficulties in their rendezvous with a stubborn and vexing world are aggravated by having a level of expectation—a standard of performance—derived from fact, yet intrinsically fictitious.

A failure of events to fulfill expectations would at least suggest something wanting in the expectations. Many Americans have not looked at it that way, however. To their view, the fault lies obviously in the actualities. With various expedients they try to rectify them to fit the preconceptions of the simpler, less vexing epoch, when the span of one sovereign's jurisdiction about covered the range of our concerns.

Just as the factors underlying the immunity and success once vouchsafed the nation, so also the circumstances bringing to an end that happy epoch have come into reality without the nation's having willed them. Fortune's favorites may ignore the source of their blessings, ascribing them to their own merits and efficacy. Reversal of fortune, however, leaves only a choice between self-blame and admission of contingency and finiteness.

Some Americans have simply been unwilling to face up in the present to what the past tended to conceal: that a great state, even their own, however huge and awesome in scope and power in comparison to the individual, is a limited and contingent entity when measured against the scale of all that lies beyond its span in time and space; and its response to its environment—in other words, its foreign policy—is inherently a contingent set of purposes in which its own will, far from being absolute, is conditioned continuously by forces and events beyond its ordaining.

For those determined to avoid this modest recognition not even the well-worn isolationist argument ascribing all our woes to heady ventures beyond our jurisdiction is sufficient; an explanation likening the nation's ordeal to that of the man in the parable who went out from Jerusalem and fell among thieves requires a concession of national self-limitation. Nothing less than a theory putting the blame on domestic villainy will do: whatever has happened to us, we must have planned it that way.

FOR example, a couple of years ago a State Department colleague of mine was addressing a veterans' group. He was asked why this nation ever permitted the establishment of a great power base for the Russian adversary, and he answered by tracing the long historic span involved in the growth of the Russian position, only to draw a rejoinder—serious, not facetious—that "treason must have set in earlier than most of us have suspected."

A common reaction to the strike at Pearl Harbor was: "They can't do this to us!" A certain Admiral can't believe it yet. The theme of a book by him now enjoying commercial if not intellectual success is that a wound so grievous could only have been self-inflicted.

The gall still lingering from China's waywardness has been particularly pervasive. The United States had made that country a special object of solicitude for a half century, first as protector of its independence and second as advocate of its rise to great-power status. Free at last of foreign yokes and vested with great-power credentials, China passed under the sway of political forces aligned with our main world adversary, stood off an American-led coalition to a stalemate in Korea, and then abetted the infliction of heavy loss on the side identified with our interests in Indochina—a record, if taken at its face, so confounding to the notion of special American efficacy that it compels many to fashion recondite explanations ascribing the whole course to authorship in Washington.

"The illusion of American omnipotence"—in Denis W. Brogan's phrase—is not a marginal and unimportant premise.

The foreign policy portions of the 1952 Republican platform reflect this illusion notably, implicitly regarding the American fiat as potentially effective all over the globe; explicitly regarding everything in the world painful to our interests as therefore the handiwork of Washington under the other party. I think it erroneous to shrug this off as merely partisan zeal in underbidding on a contract for office. It reflects something widely characteristic of national attitudes.

If we were not authors of all our woes, then we were not completely masters of our fate. If such we were not, revision of defects in our relationship with the world about us might require more than mere change of personnel and attitude in places of authority here. If so, then answers might not be simple at all.

The proponents of this viewpoint must have believed in their version of the simplicity of cause and cure of our world problems. Their sincerity has been attested by the course of foreign policy in the past twenty months—a course which may be characertized as a protracted rending of a love affair with the simple solution, a sort of shotgun estrangement from a nonexistent lady.

LET us take note also of the way in which the peculiar American past in world affairs affects the viewpoints of two seemingly quite different but inherently quite similar approaches to world political relations. I refer to the phenomena of radical nationalism and radical internationalism as exemplified respectively in such seemingly diverse proposals as the Bricker Amendment and the schemes for a federated world.

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The radical nationalists—I prefer the term to *isolationists*—shrink from the speculativeness of world politics. They find it too taxing, too uncertain, to have to parse through the multiple factors involved in dealing with relationships among a collection of diverse political entities. They take comfort in thinking of the absoluteness of a field of concern embraced in only one state. These things are exactly true also of advocates of a world political organization.

The radical nationalists have boundless faith in a constitutional formula as a means for resolving every political difficulty and are disposed to skip over the factors of power. Here too the shoe fits the radical internationalists. In this sense both groups reflect an American habit of thinking that our national future was disposed in the stately prose adopted in 1787 and of overlooking the simple fact that force, in the American Civil War, was the arbiter of destiny even for our nation.

Both groups think along lines of meeting our problems by divesting the nation of power to deal with external realities—the one by shrinkage, the other by absorption. Both groups think it possible to command the future in tight plans and prefer to speak of policy in terms of illimitable ends, avoiding the hard empiricism of means. In this sense both are utopian. In advocacy of their respective formulas both groups are wont to squint and to overlook half the facts in regarding both the past and the present. Both groups simply elide the differences obtaining in the scene of politics as between 1787 and now.

Both groups err—at least I think they do—in vastly overestimating American efficacy in relating ourselves to the world about us, in postulating a world responsive to our will if we but exercise it. The one group regards an absolute immunity from the effect of things beyond our jurisdiction as ours for the taking. The other group assumes a mission to transform the world as ours for the claiming. The radical nationalists cherish the notion that no danger would have befallen us except for a few paragraphs unwisely agreed to at Yalta. To balance this misproportion I would cite a recent magazine article by a great scholar reproaching the U.S. for having omitted to establish world government in 1945.

I might go on laboring the point. It is an obvious one. All devotees of simple happy answers to huge and complex tragic problems, diverse as the answers may be, have more in common with each other than with those who put little trust in formulas, who see the broad past for what it was—largely a series of ordeals for those experiencing it; who are not dismayed to find our present much like the general experience of nations in that respect, and are not overborne by the thought of a future likely to turn out to be much the same also. In that future we shall likely have to learn for ourselves the meaning of Christina Rossetti's words:

Does the road lead uphill all the way?
Yes, to the very end.

NOT TO JUDGE THE WORLD BUT TO SAVE IT

The Christian in Politics

EUGENE J. McCARTHY

IS there a Christian politics? Christian political thinkers and leaders have defined and described what they consider the ideal Christian State. Some have seen this ideal State in the medieval synthesis of State and Church and looked to the restoration of a similar order today. For others, the ideal Christian State is conceived as a monarchy, with the Christian monarch defending both faith and country. Others envision the Christian State as a democracy founded upon the natural law or the Papal encyclicals.

If the concept of Christian politics is to be justified, or if any historical State is to merit the label "Christian," it must be of such kind that, as Franz Joseph Schoningh, editor of *Hochland,* pointed out in the April 1949 issue of that magazine, "fundamentally, through its Christian character alone, it differs from every other."

Neither history nor political theory establish any basis for the application of the label "Christian" in any absolute sense to politics. Recognition of Christianity by the State does not make the State itself "Christian," nor does official approval of certain Christian forms and practices. Neither does the fact that all citizens of a State are Christians make that State a Christian State. A government might be distinguished as more or less Christian to the degree

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that it has either succeeded or failed in establishing a greater measure of justice; or, a form of government called Christian to the extent that it depends upon the inspiration of the Gospels for its fullfillment, as does democracy. Such qualified application sets the limits of the use of the word "Christian."

Although the existence of a purely Christian politics cannot be established, there remains an obvious need for Christians in politics, that is, for Christian politicians. Every human society is political and every adult member of such a society must of necessity assume political obligations. A Christian must assume these obligations as a citizen, and more particularly as a Christian citizen. He must, as Pope Pius XII pointed out in his message correcting the misinterpretations of the directive "Return to the Spiritual," be actively present in political life—"wherever vital interests are at stake; where laws concerning the worship of God, marriage, the family, the schools, the social order, are being deliberated; wherever through education the spirit of a nation is being forged. . . ."

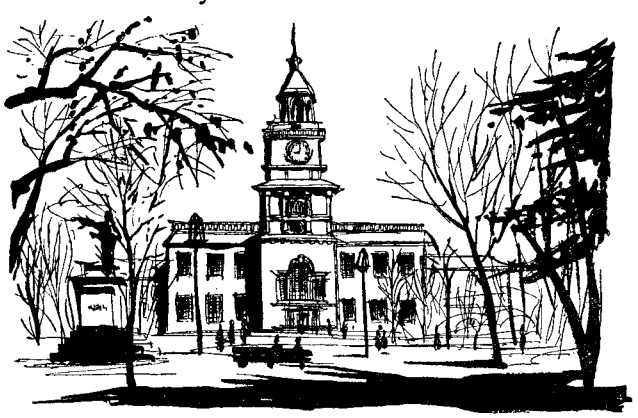
THE calling of a Christian is not to judge the world, but rather to save it. In the conflict between good and evil, in which great advantage is given to evil by neglect, the Christian cannot be indifferent to so important an area of conflict as that of politics.

Not everyone has an obligation to run for public office, or even to become active in party organization. The measure of participation required of an individual depends on many conditions of personality and circumstances. There is no excuse, however, for complete neutralism and detachment. It is not even possible, under all circumstances, to justify the position of the "independent voter," or of the non-partisan citizen. These forms of political activity can be enjoyed only because others are actively engaged in party politics. It is important to keep in mind the testimony of history to the need for party politics in domestic government. In the United States party factions preceded the adoption of the Constitution itself, and government, since that time, has depended upon political party activities. Good government depends on good political parties.

In approaching politics, the Christian must be realistic—politics is a part of the real world. In politics the simple choice between black and white is seldom given. The ideal is seldom realized, and often cannot be advocated. For example, a Christian politician in a society in which many marriages are broken, may have to advocate and support divorce laws for the sake of public order. Trade, diplomatic relations and cooperation with nations whose conduct he condemns may be made necessary by circumstances. Political leaders may, in what Maritain describes as "regressive or barbarous" societies, have their freedom of choice reduced to the point where they must take a position which is questionable, rather than the alternative which is simply and completely bad. Prudence may require the toleration of evil in order to prevent something worse, and may dictate a decision to let the cockle grow with the wheat for a time. In making decisions of this kind, the Christian in politics, whether he is the official who makes the decision, or the citizen who supports the official and his decision, runs the risk of being called un-Christian or anti-Christian. This is a risk which he must be willing to take.

Despite these difficulties and complications it should nonetheless be possible to distinguish the Christian in politics. If such distinction could not be made there would be no point in urging the participation of Christians in political life.

What are the marks of a Christian politician? He is not necessarily the one who is seen most often



participating in public religious activities, or conferring with religious leaders. He is not necessarily the one who first and most vociferously proclaims that his position is the Christian one and who attempts to cover himself and his cause with whatever part of the divided garment that is within his reach. He is not necessarily the one who makes of every cause a "crusade" presenting himself as Carlyle described the crusader as "the minister of God's justice, doing God's judgment of the enemies of God."

The Christian in politics should be judged by the standard of whether through his decisions and actions he has advanced the cause of justice, and helped, at least, to achieve the highest degree of perfection possible in the temporal order. He has available to him a great body of teachings on secular matters. He should know and understand those teachings and should seek to apply them.

When a political problem can be reduced to a simple question of feeding the hungry or of not feeding them; of ransoming the captive or of refusing to ransom him; of harboring the harborless, or of leaving

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him homeless—there should be no uncertainty as to the Christian position. Problems of overpopulation, of displaced and expelled peoples, of political refugees, and the like are in reality not always reducible to simple choices. As a general rule the inclination of the Christian should be to liberality. His mistakes and failures on problems of this kind should be as a consequence of leniency rather than of a fearful self-interest; of excess of trust, rather than of excess of doubt and anxiety.

THE Christian politician must, of course, hold fast to the moral law remembering that the precepts of morality do not themselves change, even though the way in which they are applied to concrete acts may be modified as society regresses or is perverted.

On the basis of moral principles, he must strive to separate good from bad even though the line may be blurred or shifting. He must remember and honor in action the rule that the end does not justify the means. He should carefully avoid confusion such as that which is manifest in Cromwell's reply to Wharton's protest of Pride's purge and the execution of the King. "It is easy to object to the glorious actings of God, if we look too much upon the instruments. Be not offended at the manner. Perhaps there was no other way left."

The Christian in politics should be distinguished by his alertness to protect and defend the rights of individuals, or religious institutions and other institutions from violation by the State or by other institutions, or by persons. He should be the first to detect and oppose a truly totalitarian threat or movement and the last to label every proposal for social reform "socialistic."

He should protect the name of Christ from abuse and profanation, and should himself avoid unwarranted appeals to religion. He has a very special obligation to keep the things of God separate from those of Caesar.

The Christian in politics should shun the devices of the demagogue at all times, but especially in a time when anxiety is great, when tension is high, when uncertainty prevails, and emotion tends to be in the ascendancy.

The Christian in politics should speak the truth. He should make his case in all honesty—aware that any other action is as C. S. Lewis states, to offer to the Author of all truth the unclean sacrifice of a lie. He should not return calumny and slander in the same token, but combat them with truth and honesty, risking defeat for the sake of truth. He should not resort to the common practice of labeling, which by its falseness violates justice, and by its indignity offends charity. Powerful personalities may be able to stand against these forces. The weak are likely to be destroyed. It is these who must be the concern of Christians.

In addition to distinction on the basis of actions the Christian in politics should be distinguished by his manner of approach. He should normally be optimistic rather than pessimistic. The optimism would not be blind or foolish, without awareness or recognition of reality, but rather manifesting hopeful confidence, despite the difficulties of a situation and the potentiality of men and human society for failure.

The Christian should show respect for the opinion, judgment, and motives of others. This he can do without any abject denial of the certainty of his own position and without agreeing to disagree, or conceding that those who disagree with him may be right.

The Christian should be humble, reflecting in his actions, his awareness of the great mystery of redemption, and the shared mystery and dignity of all men.

Altogether these seem to be difficult standards and demands. Their fulfillment requires sanctity. There is, however, no other measure which is valid for Christians in politics or in any other way of life. As the great politician and saint, Thomas More, observed, "It is not possible for all things to be well, unless all men are good—which I think will not be this good many years."

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION

A Man Going Blind

HE was a young man, about thirty, of pleasant, unassuming appearance and a soft voice that carried a French Canadian accent. He had the unusual name of Oneil Bouchard, which suggested Irish ancestry somewhere. He wore thick glasses, but there was no immediate way of telling that one eye was false and the other of little value to him.

"I was working on a roof," he told me, "when it happened. It was up in Bangor, Maine. There was ice on the roof. I was carrying two buckets of boiling tar when I slipped and fell. The tar went all over my face and into both my eyes."

"That was on February 1, 1947. Since that time I have had sixteen operations on my eyes. They took the left one out in 1948."

"How is your right eye?" I asked. "Can vou read with it?"

"No," he said, "only very large letters, like the

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bigger headlines in the paper. And nothing is clear. It's as though I was looking at everything through smoke or steam. The doctor said they might try a cornea transplant, but they don't like to take a chance when the other eye is no good."

"Can you work?"

"No. I haven't worked since it happened. I live at home with my mother, my younger brother and two younger sisters. One of my sisters supports us. She's a telephone operator."

I stopped taking notes for a few seconds, trying to imagine the humiliation of a young man supported by his younger sister.

"What about the workmen's compensation?" I asked. "Who was your employer?"

"The Bangor Roofing and Sheet Metal Company," he said, "but they had nothing to do with the compensation. That was paid by the American Mutual Liability Insurance Company, with which my employer had a contract. They paid me twenty-one dollars a week and medical expenses. That is, until last December."

"They cut it off in December?"

"Yes, they cut off the twenty-one dollars then. I was still getting medical treatment, though, and then they stopped paying for that." He handed me a copy of a letter that the insurance company had sent to his doctor. It read:

"Dear Dr. Stone:

"Please be advised that the above employee's compensation payments expired on December 5, 1953, and we are not responsible for any further medical treatments at all after this date.

"Very truly yours,"

It was signed by the Portland branch claim manager.

Bouchard told me that the state of Maine has a Workmen's Compensation Law that releases the insurance company from all obligation in cases of this kind after a fixed number of weeks and a fixed amount of compensation.

And yet young Bouchard can't work unless he gets very special training and a very lucky break. And he may still need several expensive operations, and hospital care to match. Even now he has to make periodic trips from his home in Fort Kent, in the northernmost tip of Maine, in order to see his doctor in Boston.

It was this doctor who brought us together: Dr. William Stone, one of the best eye specialists in the country, still a young man but already credited with an important new operation known as the Stone Implantation.

Dr. Stone was indignant about the insurance company's refusal to continue payment of Bouchard's medical expenses.

"If there's anything you can do about it," he said to me, "I wish you would do it. You can use my name. I've already told the insurance company they should be ashamed of themselves."

The trouble is, of course, that workmen's compensation laws differ from state to state. In many states of the union young Bouchard would still be getting not only his medical expenses, but also weekly compensation in addition.

The basic trouble is that Maine has a bad law, as do other states with a politically feeble labor movement. This could be corrected if there were a good federal law that took precedence. The States Righters wouldn't like that. Or it could be corrected if the people of Maine had enough imagination to figure out what it is like to be in the position of Oneil Bouchard, thirty years old and going no place because he can't see the road, except as through a smoked glass darkly.

Bad laws are usually the result of defective imaginations. Plus a certain amount of greed. And a good deal of ignorance. But if all the voters of Maine had a chance to talk to young Bouchard, I think that would go a long way toward fixing matters. Unfortunately, they don't.

AWARD FOR A CHAMPION

WHENEVER I hear or read the name of Father Jerome Drolet, I think of a party that a friend of the *Catholic Worker* gave for the staff of that paper back about 1937.

Father Drolet, a dark, handsome young priest from Louisiana, was visiting the C.W. at the time. We took him along. I remember the party mostly because Father Drolet was there and also because it was on that occasion that I learned to truck. (Note to younger readers: trucking is a shuffling kind of dance step that flourished briefly in the 1930's and has not been heard of since.)

Even in 1937 Father Drolet was well-known as a champion of the underdog. He was especially active in championing underdogs whenever they had the good sense to band together in a union for their mutual benefit and protection.

I haven't seen Father Drolet since then, but I have read frequently of his efforts in behalf of the working man and the Negro—efforts which sometimes called down upon his head a great deal of criticism, and even abuse. I remember also a particular storm of abuse that descended upon his head from left-wing quarters when he helped a group of Negro longshoremen rid themselves of domination by the Communists.

He has made news on other occasions. In his dual

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BORN CATHOLICS
Assembled by F. J. Sheed

Converts are continually and most usefully telling why they joined the Catholic Church. In this book nineteen "born" Catholics tell what it is like simply to find oneself in it. Each writes of his own experience, they did not see one another's essays, they received no instructions on what to write.
So far as we know this is the first experiment of its kind. We do not attempt to say what the reader will learn from it. But two comments do seem worth making—first, the book should deal a mortal blow to the view that Catholics are all of a kind, poured into one mold, tarred with one brush, hammered into one shape; second, it shows that to differentiate converts from the rest of Catholics because they are in the Church by their own choice is to over-simplify.

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For a poem on this book by PHYLLIS MCGINLEY see the current number of Sheed & Ward's OWN TRUMPET. To get the Trumpet free and postpaid, write to Lucy MacGill,

SHEED & WARD **New York 3**

role as pastor of St. Charles Church in Thibodeaux, La., and executive secretary of the Lafourche Parish (County) Social Action Committee, Father Drolet was so sharp and loud in his remarks about the tie-in between criminals and anti-union elements in that county that he was called to testify before the Kefauver anti-crime committee in 1950.

The resulting storms, including threats of physical violence, brought the whole organized labor movement to his defense. A CIO convention resolution blasted those who had "engaged in reprisals against Father Drolet for his being pro-union and anti-Dixiecrat and anti-organized crime."

Last year a small local of AFL paper workers was on strike in a life-and-death struggle to keep their union alive. Father Drolet made regular trips to the scene of the strike, which was one hundred and sixty miles away from Thibodeaux. The union leaders warned him that he might be caught in the intermittent gunfire that broke out between the strikers and strike-breakers, but as one AFL official put it—and I think this is an excellent description of the priest's character—"he would have come even if the street had been mined every inch of the way."

It is therefore good to learn that on October 9th Father Drolet will receive the 1954 Clendenin Award for Distinguished Service to Labor's Rights. The award will be made at a lunch in the Hotel Commodore under the sponsorship of a committee of prominent liberals and labor unionists headed by three co-chairman: Bishop Bernard J. Sheil, Walter Reuther, and A. J. Hayes, who is president of the AFL Machinists' Union.

The award was voted by the executive board of the Workers' Defense League, "a non-partisan defense agency of the labor movement," and the statement announcing it reminds us of Father Drolet's "militant support of three thousand sugar cane field workers, members of the National Agricultural Workers, AFL, in their hard-fought strike for union recognition, a living wage, and decent working conditions. At that time Father Drolet came to New York at his own expense, while on vacation, to get aid for the strikers."

Readers of this column may remember a report of this strike. Workers were driven out of company-owned shacks; gas, light, and water were cut off in other homes; company stores suddenly demanded full payment of debts, and so on.

From the pulpit of his church Father Drolet denounced one terrible incident of the struggle: the beating of a sugar cane worker by a sheriff with a revolver butt.

The strike, incidentally, was lost, thanks mainly to anti-strike injunctions graciously granted the plantation owners by local judges. It is an interesting fact,

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which I wasn't aware of, that until last year no union had existed in that area of the South since 1879, when the state militia helped break a strike led by the Knights of Labor.

Father Drolet is hopeful that it won't be nearly so long before another union tries, successfully, to bring a better life to the miserable Negro workers of the sugar cane plantations.

It is indeed good to see not only that such workers have a champion of the quality of Father Drolet, but that other Americans, most of them non-Catholics incidentally, have recognized that quality and are prepared to honor it.

JOHN C. CORT.

THE SCREEN

DEARLY BELOVED

IT is so seldom that a movie is about true love that we have extra reason for cheering "The Little Kidnappers," a badly named English film that is set in Nova Scotia and was beautifully photographed in Scotland. It is about two young orphans who come in 1904 to live with their strict, Bible-quoting grandfather in a backwoods Nova Scotia community. The old man isn't really bad; he's just hard, sternly Scottish, and extremely bitter at the loss of his only son in the Boer War. The boys' grandmother and aunt try to make things easier for the boys but they carry little weight with Grand'ay who even limits the boys' playing and absolutely refuses to buy them a dog—because a dog serves no practical purpose and can't be eaten. So one day the boys find a baby in the woods, and having no idea that the baby may belong to anyone, they keep it as their own, hide it in a hut and take care of it.

Instead of bogging down in sentimentality as it could have at any point, "The Little Kidnappers" tells its fable (screenplay by Neil Paterson) in a straightforward manner. Philip Leacock has so directed his well-chosen cast that they do seem to be living before you on the screen. The children (Jon Whitely as the eight-year old, and Vincent Winter as his five-year-old brother) are wonderful. I'm sure Director Leacock should get all the credit for their performances; the boys themselves, however, merit a little credit for their own irresistible charm. As Grand'ay, Duncan Macrae is the very epitome of a patriarch: hard-working, wise in his way and unbending toward his own daughter (Adrienne Corri) and the boys who are longing for love. The supporting players are good too. In fact, "The Little Kidnappers" won me completely—until it

THE LIE ABOUT THE WEST

by Douglas Jerrold

A reply to Professor Toynbee's *The World and the West*. Mr. Jerrold defends Western civilization with his usual logic and cheerful vigor. Anyone reluctant to see our civilization consigned to a coffin can hardly help reading this with immense pleasure. $1.75

BLACK POPES

by Archbishop Roberts, S.J.

On the use and abuse of authority in the Church. The author has sought out doubts and difficulties on this subject in India, England and America (not forgetting Paul Blanshard's) and examines them with a frankness which would seem almost alarming if he were not an Archbishop. $2.50

LOVE AND VIOLENCE

Edited by Father Bruno de Jesus-Marie, O.C.D.

Like *Satan*, this is a symposium from *Etudes Carmélitaines*. Among the contributors are Gustave Thibon, writing on War and Love, Father John Baptist Reeves, O. P., on Love and Violence in the Gospels, and René Huyghe on Love and Aggressiveness in Art. Illus. $4.00

ST. BRIGID OF IRELAND

by Alice Curtayne

St. Brigid won for Irish nuns the right to live in convents instead of at home, a revolution for which they were everlastingly grateful. She was born a slave, grew up to tell kings what to do, gently command bandits and manage her farms—every convent had to be self-supporting—all this without ever making an enemy. Surely a saint worth studying? $2.00

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came to the scene in which the elder boy was tried for kidnapping, and I could hardly believe that a youngster, even in 1904, would be treated so severely, or that the possibilities of punishment would be taken so seriously. I must say, however, that the film winds up as it should and puts across its plug for love without ever taking the stand and preaching. Don't miss this distinctly off-beat picture.

I SUPPOSE "That Frenchman!" is meant to be about love too—profane love in this case—but its central figure is such an immoral cad that I felt more than a little uncomfortable following his exploits. The picture has been given a slick production by Paul Graetz, and Rene Clement has directed its fine cast with a flashy brilliance. Most of the story is told in flashbacks during which Gerard Philipe, who is married to Valerie Hobson and is trying to seduce Natasha Parry, tells Natasha of his former conquests. This is a rather peculiar way to win a girl, but even more peculiar are his crowded love life and the manner in which he won and left Joan Greenwood (miscast as a shy, young innocent), Germaine Montero (portraying a prostitute) and Margaret Johnson (as a forceful career woman).

Since "That Frenchman!" makes it clear that the character played by Philipe is thoroughly unlikable underneath his surface charm, I suppose the main theme of the picture is not objectionable. But like "The Moon Is Blue," "That Frenchman!" assumes that virtue is an old-fashioned and fuddy-duddy idea; and while the script has some amusing lines, it suggests that Philandering Philipe is naughty but awfully cute.

IN real life I'd be a little suspicious of the characters in "Betrayed," an American film made in Holland and England. This is a spy-and-chase melodrama of World War II. During long parts of it one is never quite sure for whom Clark Gable, Lana Turner and Victor Mature are spying and chasing. But director Gottfried Reinhardt does manage to work up some good suspense at times, and even though your loyalties are splattered all over the place, you get keyed up to quite a pitch. Perhaps a little better motivation in the characterization and a little more honesty in the mystery part of the script would have resulted in a better picture. But of course a Gable-Turner movie is not entirely without interest and the Eastman Color photography of the Dutch countryside is very beautiful too.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

The ROSARY in ACTION

by John S. Johnson

At Fatima, the Blessed Mother told us that meditation is the essential feature of the Rosary—*not* the mere telling of the beads.

But many persons, unschooled in the ways of formal prayer, are frightened at the prospect of meditation.

Here, Mr. Johnson, by sharing the simple secret of his own methods shows how it is possible for *anyone* to fulfill Our Blessed Lady's request for meditative devotion.

The author's clear approach to the problem is made to order for those caught up in the feverish activity of day-to-day living. Here indeed is a fresh antidote for spiritual stagnation that will be welcomed by all who seek a deeper appreciation of Mary and her favorite prayer.

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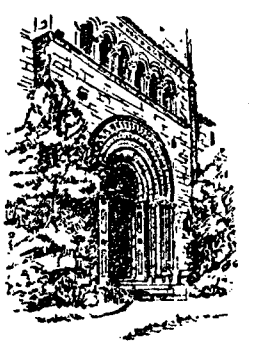

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The Pope Who Waged Battle with the Modern World

PIO NONO: Creator of the Modern Papacy. By E. E. Y. Hales. Kenedy. $4.

By WILLIAM P. CLANCY

THE reign of Pius IX, from 1846 to 1878, was the longest in Church history and one of the most epochal. During its thirty-two years the dogmas of the Immaculate Conception and of Papal Infallibility were defined, the unity of the Church was strengthened, and Catholic piety was increased. In these thirty-two years, also, a titanic struggle between the Church and the "modern" world was fought, the temporal power of the Papacy was lost, and Pius IX died the "prisoner of the Vatican."

Pio Nono's role of "prisoner" and voluntary exile at the time of his death seemed symbolic of the Church's position in the world. For in 1878 it appeared certain that the Church had lost its battle with the Revolution. Progress and Liberalism were everywhere triumphant, or about to triumph, and Liberals saw the Church as a spent force whose death-agony had been recorded in the anathemas Pius IX had hurled at his age.

In his new and important study of Pius IX's reign E. E. Y. Hales, a British historian, disputes this traditional Liberal view. He argues that "We, today, who have met the children and the grandchildren of European Liberalism and the Revolution. . . . are able from a new vantage ground to consider once more whether Pio Nono or the optimistic believers in an infallible progress . . . will have, in the eyes of eternity, the better of the argument."

Pope Gregory XVI had been an ultra-conservative, a relentless enemy of the Revolution and everything for which it stood. When Mastai Ferretti succeeded him in 1846 Liberal hopes soared. As Bishop of Imola the new Pope had acquired a certain reputation as "progressive" and during the first two years of his reign he introduced some far-reaching reforms into the government of the Papal States.

But Pio Nono's "liberalism" was short-lived. In 1848 his Prime Minister, Rossi, was assassinated and he himself was driven from Rome by the very "progressives" he had so recently amnestied. When, through the force of French arms, he was restored to Rome in 1850 whatever modern dreams he had ever indulged were ended. In their place was an unbending hostility toward that spirit which, in the name of "enlightenment" and "progress", threatened the very existence of the Church.

Pio Nono hurled two great challenges at his century: the Syllabus of 1864 and the definition of Papal Infallibility. For the world, both pronouncements were, quite strictly, scandalous. But when, in the Syllabus, he condemned the proposition that "the Roman Pontiff can and should reconcile and harmonize himself with progress, with liberalism, and with recent civilization" Liberal anger was not unmixed with Liberal glee. What institution, after all, could survive such self-proclaimed obscurantism? (We still find such publications as *The Nation* re-discovering the Syllabus and, with gasps of horror, announcing to the world that *this* is where the Church really stands.) And when, at the Vatican Council amid lightning and thunder, the dogma of Papal Infallibility was finally proclaimed, the world's outrage was tempered with a certain relief. *This* surely was the end.

But it was not the end. In E. E. Y. Hales' words, Pio Nono, "by refusing, in the name of eternal truths, to accept the passionate enthusiasms of the men of Progress. . . .earned for the Papacy much hatred in his own day. But he restored to it an authority within the Church and an influence without such as it had not enjoyed since the time of the Council of Trent."

How did Pius IX do this in spite of the apparent defeats he suffered? What was his legacy to the Church —and to the world? The answer seems to be this: positively, he affirmed, once and for all, the essential unity and authority of the Church as centered in the See of Peter and, negatively, in rebuking the pretensions of his age, he named, again once and for all, that world with which the Church can never come to terms, can never baptize—the world of totalitarian secularism.

In Pio Nono's achievement some values became blurred. His was not a subtle intellect and, of necessity perhaps, he saw the struggle of his age as simply black and white, between the Church and the Prince of this World. And so he condemned the principles of his age unequivocally. He seemingly left no middle ground and in his triumph the great liberal Catholics of the nineteenth century—Montalambert, Lacordaire, Dupanloup, Acton — suffered a terrible defeat. But perhaps this had to be.

In the sweep of the Revolution, in the arrogance and pretensions of nineteenth century Liberalism, the Church was forced to defend the first things: to consolidate, to define, and to condemn. Only after this was done could the more positive task of searching out what could be salvaged in the modern world go forward. It was Pio Nono's glory to have reigned when the Church needed his single-minded strength. It was the liberal Catholics' tragedy to have thought in advance of their age. Many of the problems they raised have yet to be solved and time has already vindicated some of their positions, but before their voices could be heard the mission of Pius IX had to be accomplished.

His mission was simply this: to save the Church from the disunity and heresy of a spurious Modernism. And in saving the Church, Pio Nono did much towards saving the world. All this is made clear in Mr. Hales' book, a work for whose scholarship, objectivity, and brilliance we can all be grateful.

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Revolution

HEROES OF THE EMPTY VIEW. By James Aldridge. Knopf. $3.95.

By WILLIAM PFAFF

COLONEL Thomas Edward Lawrence was what is called a "British eccentric," by which is meant that he was a man obsessed with a very special kind of perfection, a man who could barely endure this world. He was an intellectual who found the pistol his tool. A young archaeologist at the beginning of the first world war, he got involved in the Arab rebellion, took a position of leadership in it, abandoned himself to it and to the Arab, saw it and the Arab betrayed, by his standards, fought briefly against that betrayal in London politics, and spent the final years of his life ostentatiously seeking obscurity as an RAF enlisted man serving under an assumed name. His legacy is the unique, strange, magnificent *Seven Pillars of Wisdom,* and an as yet unpublished book on enlisted military life, *The Mint.*

James Aldridge has taken the figure of Lawrence for this book about a contemporary Englishman involved in a contemporary and fictional Arab rebellion where the nomadic tribes with the aid of a Communist "workers' and peasants' revolt" overthrow a corrupt monarchy in an oil kingdom.

The new Lawrence is named Ned Gordon ("Ned" was what Lawrence's family called him; Gordon is a name whose inspiration is not difficult to imagine). He is a leader of a first, abortive revolt, where the Communists abstain. He returns to England to search for his pure cause. Communism he rejects because it idolizes the machine. (Gordon — like Lawrence — can idolize only the impossible: his own image of an unsullied nomad of the desert.) The American role in the cold war is rejected by Gordon because it seems based only on money; because it seems to him only a rejection of Communism; because it uses men for the preservation of what seems to Gordon

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only property. Catholicism is embraced by Gordon's sister, but it too offers nothing to Gordon, and the author, with what he conceives to be compassion, characterizes the Church as sanctuary for those who have given up the real struggle. A career in British politics is also offered Gordon, but this too is corrupt, compromised, impure.

But he must fight for *something;* as the title of the book suggests, he is a saint wandering about the world looking for an adequate God. Once again Gordon goes to the desert with his faithful aide Smyth, a machine-man who had been fatefully uprooted by reading *The Seven Pillars of Wisdom* and re-lives Lawrence's way as Gordon's follower, a dumb aide to a man he cannot comprehend, but as a noble figure with that fatal cast to his soul which allows him no rest, no pretense; he emerges perhaps the most sympathetic figure in the book.

Smyth and Gordon return and see the rebellion succeed only to fall to the Communists. Gordon, his purity once again proved unattainable, his noble Arabs turning of themselves from the life that to Gordon they *must* live, dies appropriately and on time—as so few men do. "I would save the Tribes. I would save the last free men from your dogma, your machine future. Oh I would save all men if I could. . . .Oh, God, how I failed!"

The real man, James Aldridge's Gordon says, "is he who pauses from time to time to ask himself suspiciously: 'How honest am I?' " And Aldridge is doing that in this book, asking things which must be asked in a tortured time. Gordon's search for purity is only symbolic of what the author says; perhaps he finds the answer in something which is not exclusively, romantically, paralyzingly impossible. If so, he does not tell, which is good. The answer he would have would not be my answer as his arguments are not my arguments. But I am grateful that he has written this fascinating book, overburdened with rationalization (presenting a hero whom no one could *like*), but a book which is complex, compassionate, and serious.

Son and Artist

DEAREST FATHER. By Franz Kafka. Noonday Press. $5.

By MICHAEL HARRINGTON

IN November, 1919, Franz Kafka wrote a long letter to his father. It was never delivered to the person for whom it was intended, but it is now made available to the general public along with fragments from notebooks, the beginnings of a novel and other incidental material. It is the letter, however, which gives this volume its title—and its special importance.

Reading it, one feels curiously out of touch with reality. The letter seems to exist in a strange world like that of Gide's *Counterfeiters* where a character in a novel writes about a character in a novel writing, and so on endlessly, like a Chinese box or a series of mirrors. For here, Franz Kafka, the son, and Franz Kafka, the artist, are so closely related as to seem a function of one another, the son "explaining" the artist. That is the danger.

For example, take Kafka's description of a night in his childhood when he cried out for water, and his father came into the room and carried him out on the balcony and left him there alone. In recounting this incident in the letter, Kafka writes: "Even years afterwards I suffered from the tormenting fancy that the huge man, my father, the ultimate authority, would come almost for no reason at all and take me out of bed in the night and carry me out into the pavlatche, and that therefore I was such a mere nothing for him."

How easy it would be to say: "*There* is the origin of Joseph K in *The Trial.*" Or to take any of a hundred other examples of the same thing, of Kafka's fear of his father, and yet his ambivalance toward him, his need even in rejection, and say: "*That* is the genesis of the conception of authority in *The Castle. This* became the Metamorphosis and *that* the *Penal Colony.*"

Kafka even supplies the bridge between the biography and the art himself. He writes, "What I got from you . . . was a hesitant, stammering mode of speech, and even that was still too much for you, and finally I kept silent, at first perhaps from defiance, and then because I couldn't either think or speak in your presence." Would it not be so simple to argue that this silence became the eloquence of the novels, that art was simply a compensation for life?

This, I would repeat, is the danger. The mystery of Kafka is not the working out of a syndrome; it is precisely the unaccountable fact that the strange, angry, almost pathetic writer of this letter *was* a great novelist. There have been many children who shared his experiences. Some of them may well have written letters to their fathers in just such a mood. The mystery is that this child, this letter-writer, was Franz Kafka. The basic point is one which Lionel Trilling remarked in his *Liberal Imagination,* that the true, and paradoxical, relation of art to neurosis is that the artist is healthy exactly when he creates, and thus the psychological alienation cannot be summoned as the "cause" of the aesthetic wholeness.

I emphasize this point because I think the chief characteristic of this letter is its fantastic correspondence to a Franz Kafka one might have imagined through merely reading the novels and short stories. And once the reader refuses to explain man and artist as simple functions of each other in this letter, it remains a fascinating and moving document.

In addition to the letter, this volume includes the beginnings of two versions of a novel, *Wedding Preparations,* and fragments from notebooks. The opening chapters of the novel are not only interesting as dating from Kafka's early period, but also for the uncanny skill with which the author creates his characteristic mood. The rest of the material in this volume will chiefly appeal to the Kafka scholar or devotee. The book is well-titled, for its center of interest, its importance, resides in the eighty-eight pages of the letter.

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